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INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO INTO EUROPE

BY
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ANTHROPOLOGY
LEAFLET 19

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO
1924

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D. C. DAVIES
DIRECTOR

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO, U. S. A.

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FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

CHICAGO, 1924

LEAFLET

NUMBER 19

The Introduction of Tobacco into Europe

In the four preceding leaflets the history and use of tobacco in the two Americas, in Melanesia, and in Asia have been briefly discussed. It may therefore not be amiss to close this series with a review of the early history of tobacco in Europe, particularly in England,—a subject of general interest.

The white man learned the use of tobacco from the aborigines of America soon after the discovery, and the European colonists who flocked to America rapidly adopted the habit of smoking. Las Casas was already compelled to admit that the Spaniards on Cuba who had contracted the habit could not be weaned from it. Lescarbot applies a similar remark to the French of Canada. "Our Frenchmen who visited the savages are for the most part infatuated with this intoxication of petun [tobacco], so much so that they cannot dispense with it, no more than with eating and drinking, and they spend good money on this, for the good petun which comes from Brazil sometimes costs a dollar (*écu*) the pound." John Hawkins observed in 1564 that the French in Florida used tobacco for the same purposes as the natives. A. Thevet, who visited Brazil in 1555-56, noticed the Christians living there as "marvelously eager for this herb and perfume." Gabriel Soares de Souza (*Noticia do Brazil*, written in 1587), a Portuguese farmer, who lived in Brazil for seventeen years from about 1570, informs us that tobacco leaves were much esteemed by the

Indians, Negroes (whom he calls Mamelucos), and Portuguese, who "drank" the smoke by placing together many leaves wrapped in a palm-leaf; they used, accordingly, the cigar. The unknown author of the "Treatise of Brazil," written in 1601 and published by Purchas, also describes the mode of cigar-smoking in Brazil and winds up by saying, "The women also doe drinke it, but they are such as are old and sickly, for it is verie medicinable unto them, especially for the cough, the head-ache, and the disease of the stomacke, and hence come a great manie of the Portugals to drinke it, and have taken it for a vice or for idlenesse, imitating the Indians to spend daies and nights about it."

The English colonists in Virginia did not hesitate to appropriate the aboriginal custom of pipe-smoking. Thomas Hariot (A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, 1588) dwells with enthusiasm on the virtues of the herb, "which is sowed a part by it selfe and is called by the inhabitants *uppówoc*: In the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the severall places and countries where it groweth and is used: The Spaniards generally call it *Tobacco*." He concludes, "We our selves during the time we were there used to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found manie rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof; of which the relation woulde require a volume by it selfe: the use of it by so manie of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned Phisitions also, is sufficient witnes." "Sucking it after their maner" means pipe-smoking which Hariot himself describes as follows: "The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder: they use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie into their stomacke and heade."

The following passages show that the English settlers soon proceeded to make their own pipes. George Waymouth, who visited Virginia in 1605, has the following notice: "They gave us the best welcome they could, spreading deere skins for us to sit on the ground by their fire, and gave us of their tobacco in our pipes, which was most excellent, and so generally commended of us all to be as good as any we ever tooke, being the simple leafe without any composition, very strong and of a pleasant sweete taste: they gave us some to carry to our captaine, whom they called our Bashabe, neither did they require any thing for it; but we would receive nothing from them without remuneration." George Percy, who visited southern Virginia in 1606, describes an entertainment given in his honor by the savages. "After we were well satisfied they gave us of their tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper."

INTRODUCTION AND EARLY CULTIVATION OF TOBACCO IN ENGLAND

The four Atlantic states—England, France, Portugal, and Spain—received tobacco directly from America. The subject, as far as England is concerned, forms a chapter independent of the rest of Europe.

In considering the history of tobacco in England, we must distinguish between the introduction of the tobacco plant or plants and the custom of smoking tobacco, for it seems that tobacco was known or even planted in England a number of years before smoking was practised. The two earliest English botanists, John Gerard (1597) and John Parkinson (1640),

are familiar with the two principal species, *Nicotiana tabacum* (in two varieties) and *Nicotiana rustica*, so that at the outset we should be justified in assuming at least two introductions. Such indeed are upheld by tradition.

Edmund Howes, in his continuation of John Stow's "Annales or Generall Chronicle of England" (1631, p. 1038), states,—

"Tobacco was first brought and made known in England by Sir Iohn Hawkins, about the yeare 1565, but not used by Englishmen in many yeeres after, though at this day commonly used by most men, and many women."

Hawkins returned from his second voyage to the West Indies on the 20th of September, 1565, and had become familiar with tobacco and smoking in Florida. John Sparke the Younger, who wrote the account of this voyage (published by Hakluyt in 1589), writes that Hawkins, ranging along the coast of Florida for fresh water in July, 1565, came upon the French settlement there under Laudonnière, and continues thus: "The Floridians when they travell have a kind of herbe dried, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, do sucke thoro the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they live foure or five days without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen used for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks." This is the earliest English notice of tobacco. It would be amazing if Hawkins and his companions should not have imitated this custom, and Hawkins may therefore have taken specimens of *Nicotiana rustica* and its seeds from Florida to England in 1565. It was from

Florida, as will be seen, that the plant was also introduced into Portugal and from Portugal into France.

It must be borne in mind, however, that Howes' statement is not coeval with the event to which he refers, but was drafted sixty-five years afterwards. In Stow's "Annales" it is entirely absent. It is therefore not consistent with the facts, as some authors have done, to attribute this and the data that follow below, contained in a book of 1631, to Stow, who died in 1606. Nor is Howes' assertion, as has been argued, corroborated by Taylor, the water-poet, who in a post-script to his versified *Life of Thomas Parr* says that tobacco was first brought into England in 1565 by Hawkins, adding, "It is a doubtful question whether the devil brought tobacco into England in a coach, for both appeared about the same time." Taylor's work was published in 1635, and his plea for Hawkins is simply copied from Howes. Nevertheless I am under the impression that Howes honestly reproduced a tradition which was current in the latter part of the sixteenth century and had come down to his own time. It is far less this tradition itself, however, than the total of the circumstantial evidence which compels us to pin our faith in Hawkins as the introducer of *Nicotiana rustica*; for this species was grown in England in the latter part of the sixteenth century, so that its presence in English soil must be accounted for in a reasonable manner. Dr. Brushfield, in 1898, formulated his opinion thus: "Tobacco was first imported into Europe about the year 1560, but not into England until a few years later. The first Englishman to notice it was Sir J. Hawkins in 1565; whether, however, he brought any to this country is unknown, most probably he did, the other alternative being its importation from Spain." In this view the botanical side of the question is disregarded, and Spain cannot be called to the witness-stand, as the Spaniards were

exclusive and never took the trouble of propagating tobacco or any other American plant to any country of Europe.

On the same page of the above work, Howes makes the further statement, "Apricocks, Mellycatons, Musk-Millions and Tobacco, came into England about the 20 yeare of Queene Elizabeth" [1577], and adds in the margin, "Sir Walter Raleigh was the first that brought Tobacco into use, when all men wondered what it meant." The two different dates are not so incompatible as it would seem at first sight: in that great age of unprecedented colonial expansion and seafaring enterprise tobacco must assuredly have arrested the attention of several navigators, and the fact that different species and varieties of *Nicotiana* were grown in England at least in the three last decades of the century proves that several introductions at different times and presumably from different parts of America must have been effected.

In February, 1593, William Harrison completed his great work of English Chronology two months before his death (April 24, 1593). The three large folios comprising volumes II-IV of his "Great Chronologie," which he says "he had gathered and compiled with most exquisit diligence," are preserved in manuscript in the Diocesan Library at Derry, Ireland. In the fourth volume the events from A.D. 1066 up to 1593 are chronicled year by year, and in it the data referring to his own time are of particular value. Extracts covering this period are given in Furnivall's edition of Harrison's Description of England (published for the New Shakspeare Society, 1876). Here we meet (p. LV) under the year 1573 the following fundamental document relating to tobacco and smoking, which has never been utilized or interpreted correctly and which is calculated to revise all former conceptions of the early history of tobacco in England.

"1573. In these daies the taking-in of the smoke of the Indian herbe called 'Tabaco,' by an instrument formed like a litle ladell, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the hed and stomach, is gretlie taken-up and used in England, against Rewmes and some other diseases ingendred in the longes and inward partes, and not without effect. This herbe as yet is not so comon, but that for want thereof divers do practize for the like purposes with the Nicetian, otherwise called in latine, 'Hyosciamus Luteus,' or the yellow henbane, albeit, not without gret error; for, althoughe that herbe be a soverene healer of old ulcers and sores reputed incurable outwardly, yet is not the smoke or vapour thereof so profitable to be receaued inwardly. The herbe [tobacco] is comonly of the height of a man, garnished with great long leaves like the paciens [Passions or Patience, *Rumex patientia* L.], bering seede, colloured, etc. of quantity like unto, or rather lesse then, the fine margeronie; the herbe it self yerely coming up also of the shaking of the seede. The colour of the floure is carnation, resembling that of the lemmon in forme: the roote yellow, with many fillettes, and therto very small in comparison, if you respect the substauns of the herbe."

This is the memorable record of a contemporary eye-witness, who in his fascinating Description of England gives ample proof of his keen power of observation of customs and manners. His notice is based on direct and personal observation, it is not copied from hearsay or books. The botanical description is even unique, almost perfect, considering the fact that the writer was not a botanist, and represents the first English description of the species *Nicotiana tabacum*: for the herb is commonly of the height of a man, garnished with great long leaves and having flowers of carnation color—characteristics of *Nicotiana tabacum* only. The herb was then planted in England, but was

not yet common, and the henbane served smokers as a substitute; perhaps, however, Harrison's henbane, as suggested by the addition Nicetian (i.e. Nicotian), is *Nicotiana rustica*. Hyoscyamus, like Nicotiana, is a solanaceous plant of poisonous narcotic qualities. The first description of the tobacco plant in the botanical literature of Europe is that of the Italian botanist and physician Pierandrea Mattioli (1500-77) in his "Commentarii in Dioscoridem" (1565) under the name *Hyoscyamus niger*. The botanist Mathias de Lobel, as will be seen presently, affirms tobacco culture in England (prior to 1576) and describes pipe-smoking on the part of sailors who returned from America. Harrison therefore is in good company and upheld by the testimony of a contemporary. The tobacco plant was cultivated in England in 1573, a year before the discovery of Virginia, though not in sufficient quantity to satisfy general demand, and tobacco was smoked by Englishmen at that time from ladle-like instruments (perhaps similar to, or even identical with the subsequent pipes consisting of a half walnut, see below, p. 35). Harrison is the first English author who uses the word *tabaco*, the first who records the custom of smoking tobacco in England, and the first who describes its remedial properties and effects, and this independently of Monardes, whose work "Englished" by Frampton became known to the English public only in 1577.

Consequently the date 1577 given by Howes as that of the first introduction cannot be correct and must be discarded. The question arises, When and by whom was *Nicotiana tabacum*, ostensibly described by Harrison, introduced into England? At that time this species was widely disseminated from Mexico to the Antilles and South America; it could not have come to England from any point of North America, where *Nicotiana rustica* was the principal tobacco-furnishing

plant. *Nicotiana tabacum* was introduced into Virginia from Trinidad not earlier than about 1610 (W. Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britan-nia*, ed. of R. H. Major, p. 31). Now it happened that on the 9th of August, 1573, Francis Drake returned to Plymouth from his expedition to the West Indies. In the same year Harrison describes *Nicotiana tabacum* which is the typical *Nicotiana* species of the West Indies, and records the diffusion of tobacco-smoking in England. There is no accident in history, it is governed by the law of cause and effect. In my estimation, these two events cannot be a fortuitous coincidence, but are closely interrelated. In my opinion, therefore, it is reasonable to conclude, and there is no escape from the conclusion, that tobacco was brought to England again in 1573 by Sir Francis Drake (whether by himself personally or by a sailor or member of his expedition remains immaterial), and this was *Nicotiana tabacum*, known to Harrison and subsequently to John Gerard as "the greater sort of Tabaco brought into Europe out of the provinces of America, which we call the West Indies." There are, further, two weighty testimonies to the effect that tobacco was grown in England long before 1586, the date of the return of the Virginian colonists, which in most books is erroneously taken for the year of the first introduction of tobacco and smoking. There are the two botanists, Peter Pena and Mathias de Lobel (*Nova stirpium adversaria*, Antwerp, 1576, p. 251), who state positively that tobacco was then cultivated in Portugal, France, Belgium, and England; and this is good confirmation of Harrison's account. And there is Richard Hakluyt, who, in his instructions written for an English factor at Constantinople in 1582, states, "The seed of tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many have bene eased of the reumes," etc. Again, in

this case, the West Indies hint at *Nicotiana tabacum* and at the exploits of Francis Drake. It may be noted also that H. Phillips (History of Cultivated Vegetables, 1822, Vol. II, p. 339) states that "tobacco was brought to England by Sir Francis Drake, in 1570, who that year made his first expedition against the Spaniards in South America."

On the 27th of July, 1586, the colonists settled in Virginia by Ralph Lane returned to England and disembarked at Plymouth. They offered their astounded countrymen the queer spectacle of smoking tobacco from pipes, which caused a general sensation. William Camden (1551-1623), the historiographer of Queen Elizabeth and a contemporary witness, reports this event as follows (*Annales rerum anglicarum*, 1615, p. 408; or *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, 4th ed., 1688, p. 324):—

"And these men who were thus brought back were the first that I know of that brought into England that Indian plant which they call Tabacca and Nicotia, or Tobacco, which they used against crudities being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, whilst in a short time many men every-where, some for wantonness, some for health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness sucked in the stinking smoak thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils: insomuch as tobacco-shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns. So that the Englishmens bodies, (as one said wittily,) which are so delighted with this plant, seem as it were to be degenerated into the nature of Barbarians, since they are delighted, and think they may be cured, with the same things which the Barbarians use."

From what has been said above it is clear that the band returning from Virginia was not instrumental in

introducing tobacco cultivation into England, for this was an established fact long before that time, neither were they the first smokers on British soil. It is solely popular imagination which has vividly retained this very event and which glorified Ralph Lane, Richard Grenville, or Walter Raleigh as the first smokers.

King James, in his "Counterblaste to Tobacco" (1604), alludes to the first introduction but vaguely, "Now to the corrupted basenesse of the first use of this Tobacco, doeth very well agree the foolish and groundlesse first entry thereof into this Kingdome. It is not so long since the first entry of this abuse amongst us here, as this present age cannot yet very well remember, both the first Author, and the forme of the first introduction of it amongst us. It was neither brought in by King, great Conquerour, nor learned Doctor of Phisicke. With the report of a great discovery for a Conquest, some two or three Savage men, were brought in, together with this Savage custome. But the pitie is, the poore wilde barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous custome is yet alive, yea in fresh vigor: so as it seemes a miracle to me, how a custome springing from so vile a ground, and brought in by a father so generally hated, should be welcomed upon so slender a warrant." This "father" no doubt is Sir Walter Raleigh, but it is not necessary to concur with Edward Arber, who justly denies that Raleigh had anything to do with the introduction of the weed itself or of the habit of smoking, in the conclusion that "the king wilfully or ignorantly falsified the history of the introduction of tobacco, concocting a degrading story for his purpose." The king's remark certainly savors of malice, but he may have honestly been persuaded that Raleigh was the first introducer.

Henry Buttes (Diets Dry Dinner, 1599) states, "Our English Ulisses, renomed Syr Walter Rawleigh, a man admirably excellent in Navigation, of Natures

privy counsell, and infinitely read in the wide booke of the worlde, hath both farre fetcht it, and deare bought it: the estimate of the treasure I leave to other." It may be perfectly true, of course, that Raleigh laid in a good supply of tobacco or secured it from Hariot, for his own consumption and the use of his friends. A letter of Sir John Stanhope to Sir G. Carew, dated January 26th, 1601, contains this paragraph: "I send you now no Tabacca, because Mr. Secretary, Sir Walter, and your other friends, as they say, have stored you of late; neither have I any proportion of it (that) is good, but only am rich in Aldermans Watses promises of plenty, wherewith you shall be acquainted, God willing." Raleigh may have been initiated into the art of smoking by Hariot, who had been sent out by him for the purpose of inquiring into the natural productions of Virginia. As indicated above (p. 2) after Hariot's own report, he smoked in Virginia and continued to smoke on his return to England.

E. Arber, in his valuable notes on the Introduction of Tobacco into England (1869), thinks that we have but little demonstrative proof of Raleigh's tobacco habit, but there is the testimony of John Parkinson (*Theatrum botanicum*, 1640, p. 711), who affirms that he knew Raleigh when he was prisoner in the Tower, and that Raleigh chose the "English Tabacco" (*Nicotiana rustica*) to make good tobacco of, "which he knew so rightly to cure that it was held almost as good as that which came from the Indies, and fully as good as any other made in England." This tobacco, however, was not thought to be so strong or sweet for the pipe, nor so efficient for diseases.

It is to Raleigh's merit that he made smoking fashionable and a gentlemanly art; his name became identified with the new national habit so thoroughly that later generations looked upon him as a kind of patron-saint of the smokers. Every one is familiar

with the anecdote that Raleigh, sitting one day in a deep meditation, with a pipe between his lips, bade his man to bring him a tankard of small ale. Believing that his master's head was set on fire, he threw the liquor in his face. In fact, however, this story appears for the first time in 1611 in the Jests of Richard Tarleton, and as has been shown by G. L. Apperson (*Social History of Smoking*, 1914), was fastened on Raleigh as late as 1708. The tradition that Raleigh smoked a pipe or two on the morning before his execution (October 29th, 1618) appears to be well founded. The Dean of Westminster, who attended him on this morning, testifies that "he eate his breakfast hertily and tooke tobacco." Aubrey thus defends his action: "He took a pipe of tobacco a little before he went to the scaffold, which some female (other reading: formal) persons were scandalized at; but I think 'twas well and properly donne to settle his spirits." No mention of tobacco has been discovered in any of Raleigh's printed works. His first testamentary note made shortly before his execution contains, as far as is yet known, his sole mention of tobacco and relates to that which remained on his ship after his ill-fated voyage: "Sir Lewis Stukeley sold all the tobacco at Plimouth of which, for the most part of it, I gave him a fift part of it, as also a role for my Lord Admirall and a role for himself. I desire that hee give his account for the tobacco."

Raleigh's tobacco-box was preserved at Leeds in Yorkshire, in the Museum of Ralph Thoresby, an antiquary, who died in 1725. Soon afterwards, William Oldys saw it there, and in his life of Raleigh prefixed to "The History of the World" (1736), describes it thus: "From the best of my memory, I can resemble its outward appearance to nothing more nearly than one of our modern Muff-cases; about the same height and width, cover'd with red leather, and open'd at top (but with a hinge, I think) like one of those. In the

inside, there was a cavity for a receiver of glass or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular stay or collar, with holes in it, to plant the tobacco about, with six or eight pipes to smoke it in." R. Thoresby himself (Ducatus Leodiensis, 1715) gives the following, slightly different description: "Sir Walter Raleigh's tobacco-box, as it is called, but is rather the case for the glass wherein it was preserved, which was surrounded with small wax candles of various colours. This is of gilded leather, like a muff-case, about half a foot broad and thirteen inches high, and hath cases for sixteen pipes within it."

John Gerard (The Herball of Generall Historie of Plantes, 1597) writes that "there be two sorts or kindes of Tabaco, one greater, the other lesser; the greater was brought into Europe out of the provinces of America, which we call the West Indies: the other from Trinidada, an Ilande neere unto the continent of the same Indies. Some have added a third sort, and others making the yellow Henbane [*Nicotiana rustica*] for a kinde thereof. Being now planted in the gardens of Europe, it prospereth very well, and commeth from seede in one yeare to beare both floures and seede. The which I take to be better for the constitution of our bodies then that which is brought from India [America]; and that growing in the Indies better for the people of the same countrey: notwithstanding it is not so thought nor received of our Tabackians; for according to the English proverbe; Far fecht and deere bought is best for Ladies."

The tobacco of Trinidad is mentioned in 1595 by Robert Dudley (Voyage to the West Indies, p. 22): "The daie followinge, beinge Sondaie, in the morninge came the salvages with two canowes aborde us, as they had promised our men, bringinge such commodities

with them as their islande did afforde, saving they brought neither golde nor pearle, of the which theare are great store within the ilande, but tobacco, nutes and such kinde of frutes, the which they exchainged for knives, bugles, beades, fishinge hookes and hatchetts."

Gerard, accordingly, was of opinion that the tobacco of English growth would best suit English constitutions, as that of America would agree with Americans; but this view was not seconded by the smokers of his day.

Francis Bacon entertained no illusion as to English-grown tobacco. In his "*Sylva Sylvarum*: or a Natural History" (IX, 855) he writes, "Tobacco is a thing of great price, if it be in request: for an acre of it will be worth (as is affirmed) two hundred pounds by the year towards charge. The charge of making the ground and otherwise is great, but nothing to the profit. But the English tobacco hath small credit, as being too dull and earthy; nay, the Virginian tobacco, though that be in a hotter climate, can get no credit for the same cause: so that a trial to make tobacco more aromatical, and better concocted, here in England, were a thing of great profit. Some have gone about to do it by drenching the English tobacco in a decoction or infusion of Indian tobacco; but those are but sophistications and toys; for nothing that is once perfect, and hath run his race, can receive much amendment. You must ever resort to the beginnings of things for melioration."

William Barclay (*Nepenthes, or the Vertues of Tabacco*, Edinburgh, 1614) recommends exclusively tobacco of American growth, "Albeit this herbe disdaines not to be nourished in many gardens in Spaine, in Italie, France, Flanders, Germanie and Brittain, yet neverthelesse only that which is fostered in India

[America] and brought home by Mariners and Traffiquers is to be used. But avarice and greedines of gaine have moved the Marchants to apparell some European plants with Indian coats, and to enstall them in shops as righteous and legittime Tabacco. . . So that the most fine, best and purest is that which is brought to Europe in leaves, and not rolled in puddings, as the English Navigators first brought home."

From the book "The Honestie of this Age, Prooving by good circumstance that the world was never honest till now, by Barnabee Rych Gentleman, Servant to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie" (1614) we receive a good idea of the increased consumption of tobacco and its sale. "There is not so base a groome, that commes into an Alehouse to call for his pot, but he must have his pipe of tobacco, for it is a commoditie that is nowe as vendible in every Taverne, Inne, and Ale house, as eyther Wine, Ale, or Beare, and for Apothicaries Shops, Grosers Shops, Chaundlers Shops, they are (almost) never without company, that from morning till night are still taking of Tobacco, what a number are there besides, that doe keepe houses, set open shoppes, that have no other trade to live by, but by the selling of Tobacco. I have heard it tolde that now very lately, there hath bin a Cathalogue taken of all those new erected houses that have set uppe that Trade of selling Tobacco, in London and neare about London: and if a man may beleewe what is confidently reported, there are found to be upward of 7000 houses, that doth live by that trade. I cannot say whether they number Apothicaries shoppes, Grosers shops, and Chaundlers shops in this computation, but let it be that these were thrust in to make uppe the number: let us now looke a little into the *Vidimus* of the matter, and let us cast uppe but a sleight account, what the expence might be that is consumed in this smoakie vapoure.

"If it be true that there be 7000 shops, in and about London, that doth vent Tobacco, as it is credibly reported that there be over and above that number: it may well bee supposed, to be but an ill customed shoppe, that taketh not five shillings a day, one day with another, throughout the whole yeare, or if one doth take lesse, two other may take more: but let us make our account, but after 2 shillings sixe pence a day, for he that taketh lesse than that, would be ill able to pay his rent, or to keepe open his Shop Windowes, neither would Tobacco houses make such a muster as they doe, and that almost in every Lane, and in every by-corner round about London. Let us then reckon thus, 7000 halfe Crowns a day, amounteth just to 319,375 poundes a yeare. *Summa totalis*, All spent in *smoake*."

Tobacco then was an expensive pleasure. Aubrey informs us, "It was sold then for its wayte in silver, I have heard some of our old yeomen neighbours say, that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham Market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco; now, the customes of it are the greatest his majestie hath." Compare the similar experience of the Koreans (Leaflet 18, p. 10).

C. T. published in 1615 "An Advice how to plant Tobacco in England: and how to bring it to colour and perfection, to whom it may be profitable, and to whom harmfull. The vertues of the Hearbe in generall, as well in the outward application as taken in Fume. With the danger of the Spanish Tobacco." The author's object is to instruct his countrymen in sowing, planting and perfecting this drug, as he viewed with alarm the vast sums annually spent on imported tobacco. He heard it reported by men of good judgment that there is paid out of England and Ireland near the value of 200,000 pounds every year for

tobacco, and that the greatest part thereof is bought for ready money. It was sold for ten times the value of pepper, and the best of it, weight for weight, for the finest silver; it was hard to find one pound weight in five hundred that was not sophisticated. We learn that tobacco was then imported into England from the coast of Guiana, from St. Vincents, St. Lucia, Dominica, and other places, where it was directly bought of the natives. All these sorts were clean, and so was that of St. Domingo, where the Spaniards had not yet learned the art of sophistication. There was also a sort of Caraccas tobacco, which the Indians made up and sold to the Spaniards, and which was wholesome enough, but little of it came to England. This tobacco is mentioned in 1595 by Robert Dudley (*Voyage to the West Indies*, p. 48), who speaks of "the coast of Cracos, called the high land of Paria, one of the fruitfulest places in the worlde for excellent good tobacco, which is called for his worthiness cane tobacco."

Under Queen Elizabeth there was an import duty of 2d. a pound on tobacco, raised by James in 1604 to 6s. 10d. (equal to 25s. present value), an advance of 4000 per cent. This heavy tax nearly ruined Virginia whose economic life was based on the cultivation of the plant. In 1611 the imports of tobacco from Virginia were reduced to 142,085 pounds, one-sixth of the quantity previously exported to England. Aside from Virginia, tobacco was supplied to England from the Bermudas, where it had first been planted in St. George's Island under the first governor, Moore (1612-15), but unsuccessfully (*Historye of the Bermudaes*, p. 29). Under the third governor, Tucker (1616-19), some thirty thousand weight of tobacco could be despatched into the mother-country; this "proveinge good, and comeinge to a luckye markett, gave great contentment and incouragement to the undertakers to proceede

lustely in their plantation." Fraudulent practices, however, were committed, and the Virginia Company of London complained bitterly to the governor, Nathaniel Butler (1619-22), anent its failure to sell a shipment of very vile conditioned tobacco, neither well cured, nor well made up. The governor, thereupon, appointed "triers of tobacco" under oath, whose duty it was to examine the crops, so that much false and bad ware was burned at the owners' doors. According to an order issued by Butler in 1621, better and poorer qualities had to be distinguished and packed separately, instead of being mixed with one another, as it had formerly been done.

In 1624 the importation of tobacco from Spain and Portugal was prohibited, and that from Virginia only allowed, so that the colony prospered again. James attempted to limit the supply at both ends by ordaining that no planter should export more than a hundred pounds a year and by creating a monopoly. Tobacco could be sold only by persons holding royal warrants of permission. These were granted for life on payment of fifteen pounds and an annual rent of the same amount.

The tobacco imported from Spanish America was called "Varinaes" up to 1639, and after that date "Spanish." It was obtained from Varina, near the foot of the range of mountains forming the west boundary of Venezuela, and watered by a branch of the Orinoco River. It was known in France as *Vérine* or *petum musqué*, and was introduced into Holland and Germany under the name *canaster* or *knaster* (from the Spanish *canastro*, "basket"), as it was rolled in cords and packed in baskets.

Coles wrote in 1657, "Tobacco prospers well about Winscomb, in Glocestershire, where I think the planting of it is now discontinued, because the store that came from thence was an hinderance to the publick

revenue coming in for the custome of that which is brought from beyond seas."

By various acts passed in the reign of Charles II (1660-85), the planting of tobacco was forbidden in England in favor of the colonies, on forfeiture of forty shillings for every rod of ground thus cultivated, excepting in physic gardens, where it was allowed in quantities not exceeding half a pole of ground. Justices of peace were empowered to issue warrants to constables to search after and destroy the plants. It appears that walnut-tree leaves were used as a substitute for tobacco; for the cutting of such leaves, or any other leaves (not being tobacco leaves) or coloring them so as to resemble tobacco or selling these mixed or unmixed for tobacco was forbidden under a penalty of forfeiting five shillings a pound.

J. W. Gent (*Systema Agriculturae*; the *Mystery of Husbandry Discovered*, 2d ed., 1675, p. 156) gives the following interesting information:—

"I thought to have omitted this plant, by reason the Statute-Laws are so severe against the planters of it, but that it is a plant so much improving land, and imploying so many hands, that in time it may gain footing in the good opinion of the landlord, as well as of the tenant, which may prove a means to obtain some liberty for its growth here, and not to be totally excluded out of the husbandmans farm. The great objection is the prejudice it would bring to navigation, the fewer ships being imployed; and the lessening his Majesties revenue. To which may be answered, that there are but few ships imployed to Virginia; and if many, yet there would be but few the less; for it's not to be imagined, that we should plant enough to furnish our whole nation, and maintain a trade abroad also: And in case it should lessen the number of ships for the present, they would soon encrease again, as the trade of Virginia would alter into other commodities,

as silk, wine and oyl, which would be a much better trade for them and us. And as to the lessening his Majesties revenue, the like imposition may be laid on the same commodity growing at home, as if imported from abroad, or some other of like value in lieu of it. Certain it is, that the planting of it would imploy abundance of people in tilling, planting, weeding, dressing and curing of it. And the improvement of land is very great, from ten shillings per acre, to thirty or forty pound per acre, all charges paid: before the last severe laws, many plantations were in Gloucestershire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Oxfordshire, to the quantity of many hundreds of acres.

“Some object, that our English-tobacco is not so good as the forreign; but if it be as well respected by the vulgar, let the more curious take the other that’s dearer. Although many are of opinion that it’s better than forreign, having a more *haut-gust*, which pleaseth some; if others like it not, they may in the curing of it make it milder, and by that means alter or change it as they please: It hath been often sold in London for Spanish tobacco. The best way and manner of planting and curing it, would be easily obtained by experience: many attempting it, some would be sure to discover the right way of ordering of it, and what ground or places it best affects. But that which hath been observed is, that it affects a rich, deep and warm soil well dressed in the spring before planting time: The young plants raised from seed in February or March, on a hot bed, and then planted abroad in your prepared ground, from whence you may expect a very good crop, and sometimes two crops in a year. The leaves, when gathered, are first laid together on heaps for some time, and then hang’d up (by threads run through them) in the shade, until they are through dry, and then put up and kept, the longer the better. In this, experience is the best master.”

THE GREAT TOBACCO CONTROVERSY IN ENGLAND

As no other nation, the English had to fight for their tobacco, no less than for their liberty, and they put up a gallant and heroic fight for it. The struggle opened soon after the introduction of the plant and, producing a considerable literature, persisted with varying fortunes throughout the seventeenth century.

The first detailed account of tobacco was given the English public in John Frampton's "Joyfull Newes oute of the Newe Founde Worlde" (London, 1577; other editions in 1580 and 1596), which is a translation from the Spanish of Nicolas Monardes' (1493-1588) Three books on the drugs of America (Sevilla, 1574). The whole catalogue of diseases and their treatment with various preparations of tobacco thus became accessible to English practitioners, and English literature on the subject is visibly imbued by this influence. Physicians were busily engaged in analyzing the properties of the herb and discovering its use in all diseases; it was recommended as an infallible cure for nearly every ill and as a preventive of many ailments. In all these discussions the work of the doctor of Sevilla remained the fundamental source. The reader of Frampton should bear in mind that the notice entitled "A further addition of the Hearbe called Tabaco" (fols. 42-45) is not translated from Monardes, but from the French work "La Maison rustique" of Liebault (see below, p. 50) in which an account of Nicot's introduction of tobacco into France is rendered. Dr. Brushfield errs in making Monardes acknowledge the assistance he received from Nicot; not a word is said about Nicot in the Spanish original of Monardes.

The curative virtues of the tobacco plant are noted by two poets. E. Spenser, in his *Fairy Queen* (1590),

makes Belpheobe include it with other medicinal herbs gathered to heal Timais (Book III, Canto VI, 32):—

Into the woods thenceforth in haste shee went,
To seeke for hearbes that mote him remedy;
For she of hearbes had great intendiment,
Taught of the Nymphe which from her infancy
Her nourced had in trew nobility:
There, whether yt divine Tobacco were,
Or Panachæa, or Polygony,
She fownd, and brought it to her patient deare,
Who al this while lay bleding out his hart-blood neare.

This is the earliest poetical allusion to tobacco in English literature. William Lilly, the Euphuist and court-poet to Queen Elizabeth, a great smoker himself, wrote a play *The Woman in the Moone* (1597), in which Pandora wounds a lover with a spear and sends her servant for herbs to cure him:—

Gather me balme and cooling violets,
And of our holy herb nicotian,
And bring withall pure honey from the hive,
To heale the wound of my unhappy hand.

Raphael Holinshed (The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles, now newlie augmented and continued to the yeare 1586 by Iohn Hooker alias Vowell and others, 1587, fol. 209) appears to have been without enthusiasm for the weed, for he writes, "How doe men extoll the use of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution unto the operation thereof, or that the ground doeth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they write."

The praise of the healing powers of tobacco was sung in an epigram by John Davies in 1598 (Works of Marlowe, ed. of F. Cunningham, p. 268). It begins thus:—

Homer of Moly, and Nepenthe sings,
Moly the gods' most sovereign herb divine;
Nepenthe, Helen's drink, most gladness brings,
Heart's grief expels, and doth the wits refine.
But this our age another world hath found,
From whence an herb of heavenly power is brought;
Moly is not so sovereign for a wound,

Nor hath Nepenthe so great wonders wrought.
It is tobacco, whose sweet subtle fume,
The hellish torment of the teeth doth ease,
By drawing down, and drying up the rheum,
The mother and the nurse of each disease.

Both sides of the controversy are skilfully represented in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor* (Act III, Scene 2), acted on the 25th of November, 1596, and printed in 1601. Bobadilla pleads thus in favor of the case: "Signior beleeeve me, (upon my relation) for what I tel you, the world shall not improve. I have been in the Indies (where this herbe growes) where neither my selfe, nor a dozen Gentlemen more (of my knowledge) have received the taste of any other nutriment, in the world, for the space of one and twentie weekes, but Tabacco onely. Therefore it cannot be but 'tis most divine. Further, take it in the nature, in the true kinde so, it makes an Antidote, that (had you taken the most deadly poysonous simple in all Florence, it should expell it, and clarifie you with as much ease, as I speak. And for your greene wound, your *Balsamum*, and your—are all meere gulleries, and trash to it, especially your *Trinidado*: your *Newcotian* is good too: I could say that I know of the vertue of it, for the exposing of rewmes, raw humors, crudities, obstructions, with a thousand of this kind; but I professe my selfe no quack-salver: only thus much: by Hercules I doe holde it, and will affirme it (before any Prince in Europe) to be the most soveraigne, and pretious herbe that ever the earth tendred to the use of man." Then Cob represents the other side as follows: "By gods deynes: I marle what pleasure or felicitie they have in taking this roguish Tabacco; it's good for nothing but to choake a man, and fill him full of smoake and imbers: there were foure died out of one house last weeke with taking of it, and two more the bell went for yester-night, one of them (they say) will ne're scape it, he voyded a bushell of soote

yester-day, upward and downeward. By the stockes; and there were no wiser men then I, I'd have it present death, man or woman that should but deale with a Tabacco pipe; why, it will stifle them all in the 'nd as many as use it; it's little better than rats bane."

It is a matter of profound regret that Shakespeare has never alluded to tobacco and smoking.

In 1602 appeared a pamphlet entitled "Work for Chimny-sweepers: or a warning for Tabacconists. Describing the pernicious use of Tabacco, no lesse pleasant than profitable for all sorts to reade. Fumus patriae, Igne alieno Luculentior. As much as to say,

Better be chokt with English hemp,
then poisoned with Indian Tabacco.

Imprinted at London by T. Este, for Thomas Bushell, and are to be sould at the great North dore of Powles 1602." The anonymous author, who calls himself Philaretus, is said to have been ordered or compelled to write this invective, presumably by James I. He alleges eight reasons against tobacco, one of which is that the first author and finder hereof was the devil, and the first practisers were the devil's priests, and therefore not to be used of us Christians. The idea is not original, for it looms up in Monardes (in Framp-ton's translation, fol. 38): "And as the Devil is a deceaver, and hath the knowledge of the vertue of hearbes, so he did shew the vertue of this Hearb [to the Indians], that by the meanes thereof, they might see their imaginations, and visions, that he hath represented to them, and by that meanes deceive them." Ben Jonson also (*Gipsies Metamorphosis*) calls tobacco "the Devil's own weed," and according to Joshua Sylvester, "hell hath smoke impenitent tobaccanists to choake."

Dekker, in his *The Gull's Horn-Book* (1602), thus apostrophizes tobacco: "Make me thine adopted heir, that inheriting the virtues of thy whiffes, I may dis-

tribute them amongst all nations, and make the fantastic Englishman, above the rest, more cunning in the distinction of thy roll Trinidado, leaf, and pudding, than the whitest-toothed black-a-moor in all Asia."

In 1604 appeared King James' famed "A Counterblaste to Tobacco. Imprinted at London by R. B. Anno 1604." The king's name does not appear on the title-page, nor at the end of the preface To the Reader. He simply speaks of himself as the King. The royal pamphlet has met with almost universal condemnation, and W. Bragge (*Bibliotheca Nicotiana*, 1880) even says that "he most Quixotically broke his lance against one of the great appetites of man." To condemn is easier than to understand. In my opinion the Counterblaste is a remarkable document of considerable culture-historical interest, which must be understood and interpreted from the spirit of the time; and there is no doubt that James was actuated by good intentions and by a solicitous care for the welfare of his subjects, even though his blind hatred of tobacco carries him too far. He condemns its use primarily out of motives of racial and national pride: "And now good Countrey men let us (I pray you) consider, what honour or policie can move us to imitate the barbarous and beastly maners of the wild, godlesse, and slavish Indians, especially in so vile and stinking a custome? Shall wee that disdaine to imitate the maners of our neighbour France (having the stile of the first Christian Kingdom) and that cannot endure the spirit of the Spaniards (their King being now comparable in largenes of Dominions, to the great Emperor of Turkie) Shall wee, I say, that have bene so long civill and wealthy in Peace, famous and invincible in Warre, fortunate in both, we that have bene ever able to aide any of our neighbours (but never deafed any of their eares with any of our supplications for assistance) shall we, I say, without

blushing, abase our selves so farre, as to imitate these beastly Indians, slaves to the Spaniards, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Covenant of God? Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glasses, feathers, and such toyes, to gold and precious stones, as they do? yea why do we not denie God and adore the Devill, as they doe?"

He goes on to refute, in the physiological terms of his time, the medicinal virtues of the drug, and after all the absurdities previously written in praise of its alleged healing powers, his arguments make rather refreshing reading. To the argument "that the whole people would not have taken so generall a good liking thereof, if they had not by experience found it verie soveraigne and good for them," he responds justly that this custom is merely based on imitation and fashion. "For such is the force of that naturall Selfe-love in every one of us; and such is the corruption of envie bred in the brest of every one, as we cannot be content unlesse we imitate every thing that our fellowes doe, and so proove our selves capable of every thing whereof they are capable, like Apes, counterfeiting the maners of others, to our owne destruction." The argument that people have been cured of diverse diseases by taking tobacco is fallacious and rests on a confusion of cause and effect; the disease takes its natural course and declines, but it is not tobacco that wrought this miracle. If a man smoke himself to death with it (and many have done), O then some other disease must beare the blame for that fault. He justly rejects the idea that tobacco could act as a panacea, a cure for all diseases in all persons and at all times. "O omnipotent power of Tobacco!" he exclaims, "And if it could by the smoke thereof chace out devils, as the smoke of Tobias fish did (which I am sure could smel no stronglier) it would serve for

a precious Relicke, but for the superstitious Priests, and the insolent Puritanes, to cast out devils withall."

As to the moral evaluation of smoking, the king holds that smokers are guilty of sinful and shameful lust, that its use or rather abuse is a branch of the sin of drunkenness, which is the root of all sins, and that it disables men for military service. "In the times of the many glorious and victorious battailes fought by this Nation, there was no word of Tobacco. But now if it were time of warres, and that you were to make some sudden Cavalcado upon your enemies, if any of you should seeke leisure to stay behinde his fellows for taking of Tobacco, for my part I should never bee sorie for any evill chance that might befall him. To take a custome in any thing that cannot bee left againe, is most harmefull to the people of any land." Finally, it is a waste of national wealth: "Now how you are by this custome disabled in your goods, let the Gentry of this land beare witnesse, some of them bestowing three, some foure hundred pounds a yeere upon this precious stinke, which I am sure might be bestowed upon many farre better uses."

He condemns the prevailing custom of smoking at the dinner-table when very often men that abhor it are present. Smoking in public had increased to such a degree that men sound in judgment were at last forced to take it also without desire, "partly because they were ashamed to seeme singular, and partly, to be as one that was content to eate Garlicke (which hee did not love) that he might not be troubled with the smell of it, in the breath of his fellowes." It was accordingly an act of self-defence. A man could not heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they must be in hand with tobacco. It was a point of good fellowship, and he who would refuse to take a pipe among his fellows was accounted peevish and no good company. "Yea the Mistresse cannot in a more

manerly kinde, entertaine her servant, then by giving him out of her faire hand a pipe of Tobacco." It is a great contempt of God's good gifts that the sweetness of man's breath, being a gift of God, should be willfully corrupted by this stinking smoke. "Moreover, which is a great iniquitie, and against all humanitie, the husband shall not bee ashamed, to reduce thereby his delicate, wholesome and cleane complexioned wife, to that extremitie, that either shee must also corrupt her sweete breath therewith, or else resolve to live in a perpetuall stinking torment."

He winds up his sermon as follows: "Have you not reason then to bee ashamed, and to forbear this filthie noveltie, so basely grounded, so foolishly received and so grossely mistaken in the right use thereof? In your abuse thereof sinning against God, harming your selves both in persons and goods, and raking also thereby the markes and notes of vanitie upon you: by the custome thereof making your selves to be wondered at by all forraine civil Nations, and by all strangers that come among you, to be scorned and contemned. A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the Lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomelesse."

In 1616 the Counterblaste was reprinted in Bishop Montagu's collected edition of James' "Workes," and in 1619 the Bishop published a Latin translation of the King's works in which the Counterblaste appears as "Misocapnus ['Smoke-hater'], sive de Abusu Tobacci Lusus Regius." While the royal diatribe is sizzling, of course, with misstatements, exaggerations, and outbursts of gloomy pessimism and unrestrained animosity, it was a natural reaction against the many exorbitant claims made by the

friends and defenders of the narcotic, and in his scathing denunciation of the tobacco excesses of his time the king was presumably nearly right. In our own days his phraseology has been echoed by Eliah the Prophet, and the Jameses we shall always have with us.

Nor did the king stop at purely platonic exhortations. Under the 17th day of October, 1604, he addressed at Westminster a *Commissio pro Tabacco* to the right Trustie and right Welbeloved Cousen and Counsellor, Thomas Earle of Dorset, high treasurer of England, who is commanded "to give order to all Customers, Comptrollers, Searchers, Surveyors, and all other Officers of our Portes, that they shall demaunde and take to our use of all Merchautes, as well Englishe as Strangers, and of all others whoe shall bringe in anye Tabacco into this Realme, within any Porte Haven or Creek belonging to any theire severall Charges, the Somme of Six Shillinges and eighte Pence uppon everye Pound Waight thereof, over and above the Custome of Twoo Pence uppon the Pounce Waighte usuallie paide heretofore." Infractioners were threatened with confiscation and blows. "If anye Merchaunte Englishe or Straunger, or other whatsoever, shall presume to bringe in anye of the saide Tabacco, before suche Payement and Satisfactione first made, That then he shall not onelie forfeite the saide Tabacco, but alsoe shall undergoe suche further Penalties and corporall Punishment as the Qualitie of suche soe highe a Contempte against our Royall and expresse Commaundement in this mannere published shall deserve."

As stated in the introductory paragraph of this order, the object of this measure was to restrain the heavy importations of tobacco, "whereby it is likelie that a lesse Quantitie of Tabacco will hereafter be broughte into this our Realm of England, Dominion

of Wales and Town of Barwick then in former tymes, and yet sufficient store to serve for their necessarie use who are of the better sort, and have and will use the same with Moderation to preserve their Healthe." The latter point is of great interest, for it does not crop up in the "Counterblaste." The king discriminates between a better and baser sort of people, and graciously concedes to the former a moderate use of the herb. By way of introduction he comments that tobacco was used and taken by the better sort both then and now only as physic to preserve health, "and is now at this Day, through evell Custome and the Toleration thereof, excessivelie taken by a number of ryotous and disordered Persons of meane and base Condition, whoe, contrarie to the use which Persons of good Callinge and Qualitye make thereof, doe spend most of there tyme in that idle Vanitie, to the evill example and corrupting of others, and also do consume that Wages whiche manye of them gett by their Labour, and wherewith there Families should be releived, not caring at what Price they buye that Drugge, but rather devisinge how to add to it other Mixture, thereby to make it the more delightfull to their Taste, though so much the more costly to there Purse; by which great and imoderate takinge of Tabacco the Health of a great number of our People is impayred, and their Bodies weakened and made unfit for Labor, the Estates of many mean Persons soe decayed and consumed as they are thereby dryven to unthrifitie Shifts onelie to maynteyne their gluttonous exercise thereof, besides that also a great part of the Treasure of our Lande is spent and exhausted by this onely Drugge so licentiously abused by the meaner sorte, all which enormous Inconveniencies ensuinge thereupon." The king's solicitude, accordingly, centered around the misera plebs, while the nobility is dismissed with a patronizing pat on the shoulders.

Edmund Gardiner, Gentleman and Practitioner in Physicke, wrote a medical defence in 1610 under the title, "The Triall of Tabacco. Wherein, his worth is most worthily expressed; as, in the name, nature, and qualitie of the sayd herb; his speciall use in all Physicke, with the true and right use of taking it, as well for the Seasons, and times, as also the Complexions, Dispositions, and Constitutions, of such Bodies, and Persons, as are fittest: and to whom it is most profitable to take it." A new edition appeared in 1650.

Joshua Sylvester published in 1614 in folio a poem under the title "Tabacco battered; and the Pipes shattered (About their Eeares that idly Idolize so base and barbarous a Weed; or at least-wise over-love so loathsome Vanitie): by a Volley of Holy Shot thundered from Mount Helicon. Du Bartas his Divine Weekes and Workes with a Compleate Collection of all the other most delight-full Workes Translated and written by yt famous Philomusus, Iosvah Sylvester gent: London, printed by Robert Young." The poem, like its title, is bombastic and dull: it threatens punishment with infernal rod in hell's dark furnace, with black fumes to choke, to those who on earth offended in smoke.

William Barclay's "Nepenthes, or the Vertues of Tabacco" (Edinburgh, 1614) is a vindication of tobacco, and is directed straight against the Counterblaste. He recommends tobacco either green or dry for the cure of many maladies, either as a ball made from the fresh leaves big enough to fill the patient's mouth, or as a smoke on an empty stomach ("not as the English abusers do, which make a smoke-boxe of their skull"). In his dedication to the Bishop of Murray he calls on him to defend "this sacred herb."

A stranger plant, shipwracked on our coast,
Is come to helpe this cold phlegmatic soyle.

He defends tobacco as having "much heavenlie vertue in store" and describes America as "the countrie which God hath honoured and blessed with this happie and holy herb."

John Deacon followed in the footsteps of James I and dedicated to him in 1616 "Tobacco tortured; or the filthie fume of Tobacco refined." This work is couched in the form of a dialogue between Capnistus and Hydrophorus. It is divided into two parts, (1) The Fume of Tobacco taken inward, is very pernicious unto the Body. (2) The Fume of Tobacco taken inward, is too too profluvius for many of our Tobacconists purses, and most pernicious to the publike State. One of the most curious attempts to prevent smoking in a family is contained in a will, dated October 20th, 1616, wherein P. Campbell leaves to his son all his household goods, "on this condition, that yf at any time hereafter, any of his brothers or sisters shall fynd him takeing of tobacco, that then he or she so fynding him, shall have the said goods."

Tobias Venner, Doctor of Physicke in Bath, published in 1621 "A Briefe and accurate treatise, concerning, The taking of the fume of Tobacco, which very many, in these dayes, doe too licentious use. In which, the immoderate, irregular, and unseasonable use thereof is reprehended, and the true nature and best manner of using it, perspicuously demonstrated."

In this manner the struggle for or against the herb was continued, but ultimately ended in a complete triumph of tobacco, as an examination of the various manners in which it was consumed will show.

USE OF TOBACCO IN ENGLAND

It appears from Harrison's account (above, p. 7) that Englishmen took up tobacco-smoking from ladle-like pipes in 1573. From 1586 pipes were in full blast, and smoking during that early period was es-

sentially fashionable. One of the characteristics of the gallant, the dandy of the time, was his devotion to tobacco. "To take tobacco with a grace" was one of a gentleman's accomplishments. Clusius, the botanist (*Exotica*, 1601, p. 310), speaks of the clay pipes made by the colonists in Virginia, and adds that from 1585 the use of tobacco increased throughout England to such a degree, particularly among the courtiers, that they had many similar tubes made after the model of those brought back from Virginia for tobacco-smoking.

John Gerard was familiar with the custom of smoking. "The drie leaves," he writes in his *Herball* (1597), "are used to be taken in a pipe set on fire and suckt into the stomacke, and thrust foorth again at the nostrils against the paines of the head, rheumes, aches in any part of the bodie, whereof soever the original doth proceed, whether from Fraunce, Italy, Spaine, Indies, or from our familiar and best knowne diseases."

All the early accounts agree in stating that the smoke was expelled through the nostrils,—an imitation of Indian custom. In a play by Field (1618), a foolish nobleman is asked by some boon companions in a tavern, "Will your lordship take any tobacco?" when another sneers, "'Sheart! he cannot put it through his nose!" There were professors of the art of smoking who taught pupils the "slights," as tricks with the pipe were called. These included exhaling the smoke in globes and rings. Ben Jonson describes one Sogliardo as "an essential clown, yet so enamored of the name of a gentleman that he will have it though he buys it; he comes up every term to learn to take tobacco and see new motions." Hence Marston could make the joke, "Her love is just like a whiffe of Tobacco, no sooner in at the mouth, but out at the nose." This practice, it is said, died out after the death of

James I (1625), and from that time onward the fumes were plainly discharged from the mouth. Smoking then lost its medical aspect and developed into an honest, every-day pastime and pleasure.

In 1660 Winstanley declared, "Tobacco it self is by few taken now as medicinal, it is grown a good-fellow, and fallen from a Physician to a Complement. He's no good-fellow that's without burnt Pipes, Tobacco, and His Tinder Box."

Silver pipes are mentioned by Sir William Vaughan (*Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health*, 1602, p. 22): "Cane Tabacco well dried, and taken in a silver pipe fasting in the morning, cureth the megrim, the tooth ache, obstructions proceeding of cold, and helpeth the fits of the mother. After meales it doth much hurt, for it infecteth the braine and the liver."

In John Aubrey's *Letters* written by Eminent Persons we read, "They had first silver pipes. The ordinary sort made use of a walnut shell and a strawe. I have heard my grandfather Lyte say, that one pipe was handed from man to man round the table." This was done because the cost of a pipe was considerable.

Paul Hentzner (*Itinerarium*), a German lawyer, who visited England in 1598, has recorded the following observation: "At these spectacles [in the London theatres] and everywhere else, the English are constantly smoking Tobacco, and in this manner: they have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and lighting it, they draw the smoake into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head."

The clay pipe first made about 1590 soon became fashionable and the typical English pipe. It achieved fame all over Europe and was imitated in Holland and

Germany. The English became the adepts of the pipe-cult and the initiators and propagators of pipe-smoking in Europe. The first pipes had small, pear-shaped bowls and short stems, from three to six inches in length. Under the bowl was a flat heel, enabling the pipe to stand upright on a table. In 1619 the pipe-makers received their charter of incorporation from James I. The Company of Pipe-makers consisted of a master, four wardens, and twenty-four assistants. Their escutcheon bore a tobacco plant in full blossom, and their motto was "Let brotherly love continue." All pipes then were made of clay, though occasionally some were made of iron or brass. Under the reign of William III (1689-1702) the Dutch style with larger bowls and long, straight stems was adopted. Wooden pipes and briars appeared only from the latter half of the nineteenth century; briar (from the French *bruyère*, "heath") is the root of the tree heath (*Erica arborea*), a native of southern France. The English are still masters of the pipe, turning out the best pipes and the best smoking mixtures; a good English pipe makes a man feel that life is still worth living. The pipe is the emblem of strength and manliness, of peace and brotherhood, of liberty and democratic government. "The pipe," says Thackeray, "draws wisdom from the lips of the philosopher, and shuts up the mouth of the foolish; it generates a style of conversation, contemplative, thoughtful, benevolent and unaffected. May I die if I abuse that kindly weed which has given me so much pleasure." As the English had preceded all other European nations in the struggle for liberty and human rights and had set the model for constitutional and parliamentary government, history justly assigned to them the distinction of carrying this emblem all over the world.

Maple blocks were used in the old days for cutting or shredding the tobacco upon. The pipes were

formerly lighted by means of live charcoal from juniper wood. King James says in his *Counterblaste* (1604), "In your persons having by this continuall vile custome brought your selves to this shameful imbecilitie, that you are not able to ride or walke the journey of a Iewes Sabbath, but you must have a reekie cole brought you from the next poore house to kindle your Tobacco with?" William Barclay (*Nepenthes, or the Vertues of Tabacco*, Edinburgh, 1614) tells this story: "I chanced in company on a tyme with an English merchant in Normandie betweene Rowen and New-haven. This fellow was a merrie man, but at every house he must have a Cole to kindle his Tabacco: the Frenchman wondered, and I laughed at his intemperancie." Silver tongs, called ember-tongs or brand-tongs, were used in lifting the hot charcoal to light the pipe.

Many old English "clays" are provided with the maker's initials. Monograms and designs were stamped or moulded upon the bowls and stems, but more generally upon the spur or flat heel of the pipe. During the latter half of the seventeenth century English pipes were presented by colonists in America to the Indians. They subsequently became valuable as objects of barter or part purchase price in exchange for land. In 1677, one hundred and twenty pipes and one hundred Jew's harps were given for a strip of land near Timber Creek in New Jersey. When William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, purchased a tract of land, three hundred pipes were included in the articles given in the exchange.

It was customary for a man to carry a case of pipes about with him. In *Everie Woman in Her Humour*, a play written in 1609, there is an inventory of the contents of a gentleman's pocket, with a value given for each item. A case of tobacco-pipes is appraised at fourpence; half an ounce of tobacco, at

sixpence, and three pence in coin, or, as it is quaintly worded, "in money and golde." Satirists poked fun at the smoker's pocketful of apparatus. A pamphleteer of 1609 says, "I behelde pipes in his pocket; now he draweth forth his tinder-box and his touchwood, and falleth to his tacklings; sure his throat is on fire, the smoke flyeth so fast from his mouth." In his "*Epigrammata religiosa, officiosa, iocosa*" (privately printed, London, 1627), John Pyne of Bearferres, of whose life no details are known, has left the following Epitaph of a certaine Tobacchonist:—

Loe heere I lye roll'd up like th' Indian Weed,
My Pipes I have pack'd up, for Breath I need.
Mans Breath's a vapour, Hee himselfe is Grasse;
My Breath but of a Weed the vapour was.
When I shall turne to Earth, Good Friends beware,
Lest it evaporate and infect the Aire.

Besides the instruments mentioned, a tobacco-box (pouches were then unknown) was indispensable to the rich young gallant. The boxes were made of silver, iron, copper, brass, ivory, mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, bone, or wood, curiously and artistically carved. They were usually small enough to be carried in the pocket, and contained, in addition to the weed, a pipe, the ember-tongs, flint and steel, and a priming-iron. Occasionally a looking-glass was set in the box. Tobacco-boxes were given and exchanged as tokens of friendship. In those days, when tobacco was eight or ten shillings a pound, smokers were economic and burned their tobacco to the very bottom of the bowl, pressing the ashes down by means of a stopper. The stoppers were made of wood, bone, ivory, mother-of-pearl, brass, silver, or gold, of various shapes, and adorned with figures of national heroes or heads of animals. Some smokers wore rings provided with a stud for ramming down the contents of the pipe.

During the Elizabethan period and after women smoked as well as men (cf. Howes, above, p. 4). In

Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1602) Asinius Babo, offering his pipe, observes, "'Tis at your service, gallants, and the tobacco too: 'tis right pudding, I can tell you; a lady or two took a pipe full or two at my hands, and praised it, fore the heavens." In Heywood's *Fair Maid of the Exchange* (1607), one of the characters is advised to court a girl by "asking her if she'll take a pipe of tobacco." William Prynne, the famous Puritanic inveigher against stage-plays, informs us that in his time ladies at the theatre were sometimes offered the tobacco-pipe as a refreshment instead of apples. On the title-page of Middleton's comedy, *The Roaring Girle* (1611), is a picture of the heroine in man's apparel, smoking a pipe from which a cloud of smoke is issuing. The portrait of a woman, painted about 1651, holding in her right hand a tobacco-box and gracefully wielding in her left a pipe, is reproduced in Fairholt's book "Tobacco" (p. 69).

In the *British Apollo* (Vol. I, 1708) it is stated, "Snuff, tho' the use of it has been long known to such, as were by merchandizing or other means, familiar with the Spanish customes, has been till lately, a perfect stranger to the practice of the British nation, and like our other fashions came to us from France." In the Oxford English Dictionary we are informed, "The practice of taking snuff appears to have become fashionable about 1680, but prevailed earlier in Ireland and Scotland." In general this certainly is correct, but snuff was not entirely foreign to the Elizabethan age. The following two references may serve as evidence.

Henry Buttes (*Diets Dry Dinner*, 1599), in his discourse of tobacco, writes, "Translated out of India in the seed or roote; Native or sative in our own fruit-fullest soiles: Dried in the shade, and compiled very close: of a tawny colour, somewhat inclining to red: most perspicuous and cleare: which the Nose soonest taketh in snuffe."

Dekker, in his "The Gull's Horn-book" (1602), thus describes the approved fashion in his day: "Before the meat come smoking to the board, our gallant must draw out his tobacco-box, the ladle for the cold snuff into the nostril, the tongs, and priming-iron; all which artillery may be of gold or silver, if he can reach the price of it; it will be a reasonable useful pawn at all times, when the amount of his money falls out to run low. And here you must observe to know in what tobacco is in town, better than the merchants, and to discourse of the apothecaries where it is to be sold; then let him show his several tricks in taking it, as the whiff, the ring, etc., for these are compliments that gain gentlemen no mean respect." As Englishmen always preferred the pipe, we hear little of snuff in the first part of the sixteenth century. Irish and Scotch preferred snuff, formerly also called sneeshing, sneezing, and smutchin (from Irish *smuítéán*, "powder"; Scotch and Gaelic *smuidean*, "a mote, a particle of dust"). Howell (1650) writes in his Letters, "The Spaniards and Irish take tobacco in powder or smutchin, and it mightily refreshes the brain. I believe there is as much taken this way in Ireland as there is in pipes in England. One shall see the serving-maid upon the washing-block and the swain upon the plough-share, when they are tired with their labour, take out their boxes of smutchin and draw into their nostrils with a quill; and it will beget new spirits in them and fresh vigour to fall to their work again."

The plague of 1665 first brought snuff into prominence in England on account of its disinfectant properties. It developed into a fashion under the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14), when French ideas and manners conquered English society and inaugurated a veritable age of snuff, which completely displaced smoking in society. To take snuff was then as essential a part of gallantry as to drink tobacco had been a century before.

A gentleman was then known by his snuff and snuff-box, and snuff-taking was universal in the fashionable world among both men and women. Alexander Pope (1688-1744), in *The Rape of the Lock*, wrote:—

Sir Plume, of amber snuff-box justly vain,
And the nice conduct of a clouded cane,
With earnest eyes and round, unthinking face
He first the snuff-box opened, then the case.

And Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74), in *Retaliation*:—

When they talk'd of their Raphaels, Correggios, and stuff,
He shifted his trumpet and only took snuff.

The snuff-box was the fetish of the eighteenth century, an object of luxury, a tribute of friendship and admiration, a gift to kings and ambassadors. There was an infinite number of snuffs, and there were morning, afternoon, and evening snuffs.

At first, snuff was not sold ready-made, but every one prepared it himself. It was scraped with a rasp made from the dry root of the tobacco plant; the powder was then placed on the back of the hand and thus snuffed up. Hence the name *râpé* ("rasped, grated") for a coarse kind of snuff made from the darker and ranker tobacco leaves. The rasps were carried in the waistcoat pocket, and became articles of luxury, being carved in ivory and variously enriched. The tobacconist's shop-sign, in the early days, was the figure of a Virginian or Negro or a combination of both; in the eighteenth century and until a few years ago it was replaced with the figure of a Highlander, usually with a snuff mull in his hand, credited as he was with a great fondness and capacity for snuff-taking. Walter Scott said that a Scotchman in London would walk half a mile farther to purchase his ounce of snuff where the sign of the Highlander announced a North Briton. After the suppression of the Jacobite uprising of 1745, when the wearing of the highland costume was forbidden by Parliament, the following paragraph appeared in the newspapers of the time: "We hear

that the dapper wooden Highlanders, who guard so heroically the doors of snuff-shops, intend to petition the Legislature, in order that they may be excused from complying with the Act of Parliament with regard to their change of dress: alledging that they have ever been faithful subjects to his Majesty, having constantly supplied his Guards with a pinch out of their Mulls when they marched by them, and so far from engaging in any Rebellion, that they have never entertained a rebellious thought; whence they humbly hope that they shall not be put to the expense of buying new cloaths."

It has often been stated that snuff-taking is practically extinct. The latest news from London (June 12th, 1924) indicates that there is a definite increase in the consumption of snuff among women and that jewellers find a ready sale for daintily jewelled snuff-boxes.

Of the manifold forms in which tobacco is consumed the custom of chewing it is the most striking and perhaps even the most primitive. The aborigines of Australia, we now know for certain, were in the habit of chewing the leaves of *Nicotiana suaveolens*, a species native to Australia, in times prior to their contact with the whites, but they were totally ignorant of smoking the leaves. This example demonstrates well that primitive man, in testing the properties of a vegetable product, will first exercise his senses of touch, smell, and taste. The Spanish conquerors came into contact with the habit of chewing tobacco in the West Indies (account of Amerigo Vespucci) and Mexico (early accounts of B. de Sahagun and F. Hernandez). Monardes (1571) describes it as follows: "The Indians use tobacco to remove thirst which in this case they will not suffer, and likewise to stand hunger and to be able to pass days without being compelled to eat or drink. When they have to travel

across a desert or unpopulous region, where neither water nor food is to be found, they avail themselves of some pills made of tobacco in this manner: they take the leaves of the plant and chew them, and while chewing, they mix them with a powder prepared from burnt river-mussels; this they mix in their mouth together till it forms a mass which they shape into pills a bit larger than peas; these are placed in the shadow to dry, are then preserved, and used in this form. Whenever they travel through territories where they believe not to find water or victuals, they take one of these pills, placing it between their under lips and teeth, and keep on chewing it continually during their journey, and thus they go along for three or four days without having to eat or drink or feeling the pinch of hunger or thirst or fatigue."

As Monardes was translated into Latin, French, Italian, and English, Europeans might easily have copied his prescription, but the fact remains that they did not. Leaves may occasionally have been chewed for medicinal purposes, but no habit of chewing for pastime or pleasure was developed. Gerard (The Herball, 1597, p. 286) observes, "The leaves likewise being chewed draw forth flegme and water" . . . Edmund Gardiner, in his "Triall of Tobacco" (first published in 1610, new ed. 1650), says that "a sirup made of the decoction of this herbe, with sufficient sugar, and so taken in a very small quantitie, dischargeth the breast from phlegmatic matter." John Parkinson (Theatrum botanicum, 1640, p. 712) writes also that in his time the juice from the leaves of *Nicotiana rustica* was made into a syrup, or that the distilled water of the herb was taken with or without sugar, or the smoke was inhaled from a pipe, as usual. Obviously Parkinson here opposes to the common habit of pipe-smoking another less usual practice, that of taking a syrupy substance extracted from the leaf. At

best, however, we are here confronted with a distant forerunner of chewing, not with chewing properly.

As far as I am able to make out, it seems that tobacco-chewing was taken up as a prophylactic against the plague which was epidemic in 1665. Samuel Pepys writes in his Diary under 7th June, 1665, "This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw. It put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell to and chaw, which took away the apprehension." In the year of the plague appeared a quarto tract, entitled "A Brief Treatise of the Nature, Causes, Signs, Preservation from and Cure of the Pestilence," by W. Kemp, "Mr. of Arts," who says in regard to tobacco, "It corrects the air by Fumigation, and it avoids corrupt humours by Salivation; for when one takes it either by Chewing it in the leaf, or Smoaking it in the pipe, the humours are drawn and brought from all parts of the body, to the stomach, and from thence rising up to the mouth of the Tobacconist, as to the helme of a Sublimatory, are voided and spitten out." Derby was visited by the plague in the same year, and at the "Headless-cross the market-people, having their mouths primed with tobacco as a preservative, brought their provisions. It was observed that this cruel affliction never attempted the premises of a tobacconist, a tanner, or a shoemaker" (W. Hutton, *History of Derby*, 1817, p. 194).

The belief in the efficacy of tobacco as warding off the plague acted also as a new incentive to the increase of smoking. Thomas Hearne (1721), the antiquary, gives the following curious information: "I have been told that in the last great plague at London none that

kept tobaconist's shops had the plague. It is certain, that smoaking it was looked upon as a most excellent preservative, in so much, that even children were obliged to smoak. And I remember, that I heard formerly Tom Rogers, who was yeoman beadle, say, that when he was that year, when the plague raged, a schoolboy at Eaton, all the boys at that school were obliged to smoak in the school every morning, and that he was never whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoaking." Thomas Pope Blount (*A Natural History*; containing many not common observations, 1693, p. 127) writes, "Diemerbrockins, in his book *De Peste*, very much commends the use of tobacco in the time of plague; he says, it absolutely cured him when he had it; he also observes, that almost all those houses, where tobacco was sold, both in Spires (a city in the Palatinate) and likewise in London, were never infected, whereas the houses round about them were."

According to Penn, the chewing of tobacco was common in the reign of James, when gentlemen carried about with them small silver basins as spittoons, and Monk, the principal factor in the restoration of the monarchy, brought it into fashion; but no documentary evidence is produced by him. Apperson comments, "General Monk, to whom Charles II owed so much, is said to have indulged in the unpleasant habit of chewing tobacco, and to have been imitated by others; but the practice can never have been common."

In 1689, W. Bullock speaks of "two rowles of chawing tobacco." The London Gazette of 1725 mentions a fellow who "commonly has a chew of tobacco in his under lip"; and Smollett, in *Roderick Random* (1748), has a sailor putting a large chew of tobacco in his mouth. The *World* of 1754 pokes fun at the "pretty" young men who "take pains to appear manly; their chewing not only offends, but makes us appre-

hensive at the same time that the poor things will be sick." E. Baillard (*Discours du tabac*, 1693, p. 92) refers to chewing tobacco (*tabac machicatoire*) as relieving hunger and thirst, but does not say that it was actually used in France. In the eighteenth century a common device of tobacconists was three figures representing a Dutchman, a Scotchman, and a sailor, explained by the accompanying rhyme:

We three are engaged in one cause,
I snuffs, I smokes, and I chaws!

Another tobacconist had the three men on his sign, but with a different legend:

This Indian weed is good indeed,
Puff on, keep up the joke.
'Tis the best, 'twill stand the test,
Either to chew or smoke.

The promoters of the cigar in Europe were the Spaniards, but they were exceedingly slow in making their product known to the other nations of Europe. The cigar spread in Europe only in the first part of last century. English authors of the eighteenth century, when using the word, feel obliged to explain to their readers what it means. Thus J. Cockburn, speaking in 1735 of three friars at Nicaragua, says, "These gentlemen gave us some Seegars to smoke. These are leaves of tobacco rolled up in such manner that they serve both for a pipe and tobacco itself; they know no other way here, for there is no such thing as a tobacco-pipe throughout New Spain." Victor Hugo (*Les Misérables*) describes a fellow "carrying in his hand a powerful cane worth two hundred francs, and as he could afford everything, carrying in his mouth a strange thing, called cigar." The first cigar-factory after Spanish model was established at Hamburg in 1788 by H. H. Schlottmann, and the cigar came into general use in Germany about 1793. Kant (*Anthropologie*, 1798) still uses the Spanish form *zigarro*. The Peninsular War was the occasion for both French and

English adopting the cigar from the Spaniards. The importation of cigars into England was at first prohibited; after the peace of 1815, they were admitted at the duty of 18 shillings a pound. When the duty was reduced to 9 shillings, the import reached the figure of 253,882 pounds in 1830. Cigars then were strictly an aristocratic luxury. Lord Byron (*The Island*, 1823, Canto II, 19) has sung the praise of the cigar, and has simultaneously furnished the only eulogy of tobacco that can lay claim to real poetry.

Sublime tobacco! which from east to west
Cheers the tar's labour or the Turkman's rest;
Which on the Moslem's ottoman divides
His hours, and rivals opium and his brides;
Magnificent in Stamboul, but less grand,
Though not less loved, in Wapping or the Strand;
Divine in hookas, glorious in a pipe,
When tipp'd with amber, mellow, rich, and ripe;
Like other charmers, wooing the caress,
More dazingly when daring in full dress;
Yet thy true lovers more admire by far
Thy naked beauties—Give me a cigar!

J. W. Croker, in 1831, observed, "The taste for smoking has revived, probably from the military habits of Europe during the French wars; but instead of the sober sedentary pipe, the ambulatory cigar is chiefly used."

The cigarette was introduced into England by British officers who had served in the Crimean Campaign of 1854-56 and had taken to the cigarette smoked by their French and Turkish allies. It first became fashionable among club-men and in high social circles. Laurence Oliphant, both a man of letters and a man of fashion, is generally credited with the introduction into English society of the cigarette. At that time smokers made their own cigarettes as they needed them. About 1865 or 1866 their use had so spread that manufacturers began to cater for cigarette smokers. Even then they employed only a single man, usually a Pole or Russian, to make up cigarettes

occasionally. They were perhaps in fashion by 1870, and the social history of smoking in later Victorian days is marked by the triumph of the cigarette.

TOBACCO IN FRANCE, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, AND ITALY

There were two introductions of the tobacco plant into France during the sixteenth century, due to André Thevet and Jean Nicot, respectively. Thevet was born at Angoulême in 1502, joined the Franciscan order, and studied theology without acquiring a taste for scholasticism. Though not equipped with a critical spirit and lacking solid knowledge, he was fond of travel, being stimulated by a passion for inquiring into curiosities, extraordinary or little known objects. In 1555 he accompanied N. Duardo Villegaignon as chaplain on an expedition to Brazil, which had as its object to found a French settlement on the river Ganabara or Santo Januario (the present Rio de Janeiro). He spent three months in Brazil from November 1555 to January 1556, taking part in an expedition to La Plata, where he had a narrow escape from hostile Patagonians; a Scotchman saved his life. On his return to France he published in 1557 a book on his experiences under the title "*Les Singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: et de plusieurs terres et isles decouvertes de nostre temps.*" An English translation was printed in London, 1568, under the title "*The New Found Worlde, or Ant-artike, wherein is contained wonderful and strange things.*" This book, somewhat bizarre and poorly organized, contains a number of interesting observations concerning the country and the life of the natives of Brazil, but two thirds of the volume deal with Africa, Peru, the Antilles, Florida, and Canada, and are compiled from oral reports or printed accounts. In this work (fol. 60) Thevet describes the use of tobacco

under the name *petun* (the Tupi-Guarani word *pituma* or *pitima*) on the part of the aborigines, who rolled the leaf and wrapped it in a large palm-leaf to the length of a candle. As is well known, the natives of Brazil never availed themselves of the pipe, but only used tobacco in the form of the cigar. Thevet's description is perfectly correct; he says also that he himself tried the novel herb with some bad effects. In another passage of his work (fol. 153) he records the habit of pipe-smoking in Canada, but he does not mention that he took the plant or its seeds along to France. As late as 1575, in his "Cosmographie universelle," he advanced the claim, "I can boast of having been the first in France who brought the seed of this plant, who sowed it and named the plant in question *herbe Angoulmoisine* [after the place of his birth]. Since then, a certain individual (*un quidam*) who never made any voyage has given it his name, some ten years after my return."

This *quidam* was Jean Nicot, born at Nîmes in 1530 as the son of a notary public and educated in Paris. He was French ambassador to Portugal from 1559 to 1561. One day he went to see the prisons of the king of Portugal, and the keeper of the prisons presented him with an herb as a strange plant brought from Florida. According to another version, it was a Flemish gentleman, Damian de Goes, who in 1558 had first cultivated tobacco in the royal garden of Lisbon, the seeds having been imported from Florida. Nicot cultivated the herb in his garden in 1559, being primarily interested in its medicinal properties, and accomplished several marvelous cures. When the success of his experiments was assured, he forwarded specimens, seeds and leaves, to King François II and Catherine de Medici, the queen-mother, with proper directions as to how to apply the drug. From 1560 tobacco cultivation began to spread in France. On

his return to France in 1561 Nicot offered the queen a box of powdered tobacco which she employed as a remedy for headaches.

In 1573 Nicot published in collaboration with several scholars a French-Latin Dictionary a copy of which may be seen in the Newberry Library, Chicago. Here we meet (p. 478) the word *Nicotiane* with the following definition: "This is an herb of marvelous virtue against all wounds, ulcers, Noli me tangere [lupus or other eroding ulcer of the face], herpes, and other such like things, which Master Jehan Nicot, being ambassador to the king of Portugal, sent to France, and from whom it has derived its name. See La Maison rustique, book chap. " The blank spaces after "book" and "chap." are not filled out. The book in question is a work on agriculture published in Paris, 1570, by Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault or Liebaut, who gave the first directions for the cultivation of tobacco; they also point out its medicinal virtues and refer to the Indians of Florida as smoking the leaf from tubes (*cornets*). Their information, accordingly, is based on Nicot, not on Thevet. Indeed Liebaut admits that he received oral and written accounts directly from Nicot, which are embodied in his work, and which were introduced to the English public in John Frampton's "Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde" (1577). He consecrates the name *nicotiane* in preference to *petum*, in order to honor him who first sent the herb to France.

Olivier de Serres, whose "Theatre d'agriculture" was first published in 1600, gives credit solely to Nicot, although, as will be shown below, he must have been acquainted with Thevet's work. Official France has always been prejudiced against the latter, and has heralded Nicot as the only genuine introducer of the plant. In the "Biographie universelle" it is stated under Nicot, "The Franciscan Thevet has contested

to Nicot the glory of having enriched France with tobacco; but his pretention has not been favorably received, and the name *Nicotiane* first conferred upon tobacco has persisted, at least in scientific speech. It is not probable, however, that Nicot was conscious of the importance of the gift which he offered to the queen-mother, and that he foresaw that this gift would some day be thirty millions of revenue worth to the state." In Thevet's biography in the same collection, his claim is not even mentioned, while a latent animus crops up here and there: he is characterized as "known for his credulity," yet he is acquitted of ignorance and lying, and is credited at least with knowledge of languages and geography.

On the other hand, Paul Gaffarel, in his introduction to a re-edition of Thevet's "Singularitez" (1878), makes this strong plea on behalf of his hero, "The legitimate vindication of Thevet has never found a hearing. The designation *herbe angoulmoisine* which he had the right to impose on tobacco was denied acceptance, and oblivious posterity continued and continues to thank Nicot for a benefit for which it is not indebted to him. We may be permitted at least to brand this iniquitous judgment as false and to proclaim loudly that to Thevet and solely to Thevet the public treasury owes its most magnificent revenue and the majority of our readers a daily enjoyment." This panegyric is biased and overshoots the mark, for Nicot cannot be ruled out of court completely. The plain truth in the matter is that France owes her tobacco to Thevet and Nicot equally; but the division into the two camps of the Nicotophiles and Thevetophiles demonstrates sufficiently that the subject is not correctly understood.

It is perfectly clear that Thevet and Nicot introduced different plants: the species introduced by Thevet from Brazil can but have been *Nicotiana tabacum* (of

some Brazilian variety), and what Nicot introduced must have been *N. rustica*, which flourished in Florida, where *N. tabacum* was at that time unknown. This condition of affairs is plainly reflected by the work of Olivier de Serres referred to above, who distinguishes two species (wrongly taken by him as the male and female plants), one with large leaves, another with small ones, the former being *N. tabacum*, the latter *N. rustica*. De Serres says, "One holds that it is the Petum of the Americans" (the term "America" at that time referred to South America), and he speaks of the "male Petum, also called tabac,"—indications that he was familiar with Thevet's work, although he avoids his name. The fact that *N. tabacum* was cultivated in France in the latter part of the sixteenth century goes to prove that Thevet's claim is correct. This settles the Nicot-Thevet controversy in favor of an equal share of honor for both. But as *N. tabacum* is the more valuable of the two species and as a commercial type is now exclusively used in France as well as elsewhere, Gaffarel is right in linking the tobacco revenue with Thevet's name.

Nicot's influence at court appears to have been overwhelming in view of the cures which the new drug accomplished in the royal family. It is curious that Thevet never made the attempt to influence the court in his favor, although he was at a time chaplain of the queen-mother and historiographer and cosmographer of the king, subsequently curator of the king's curiosities ("garde des curiositiés du roi").

The Tupi word *petun* (also spelled *petum*) introduced by Thevet from Brazil was still widely used in France during the seventeenth century, as expressly stated by Neander in his *Tabacologia* (1626), and still survives in Brittany and some other Départements as *betum*, *betun*, or *butun*. Paul Scarron (who died in 1660) even formed a verb *petuner*. In Edward Sharp-

ham's comedy *The Fleire* (1615) appears Signior Petoune, "a traveller and a great tobacconist," a character introduced as the type of the fashionable smoker of the time. In honor of Nicot, tobacco was called "herb of Nicot, herb of the ambassador." As Catherine of Medici, queen of France, used tobacco powder for headaches and was instrumental in propagating the cultivation, such names as "herbe de la reine, herbe médicée, and catherinaire" were temporarily in vogue. The Scotch poet, George Buchanan (1506-82), fired a sarcastic epigram in Latin at the queen for her attempt "to adulterate the Nicotian plant with the name of Medici." Unfortunately, worse adulterations of tobacco than that have since been perpetrated on this world. The designation "herbe du grand Prieur" is traced to the Great Prior of France and duke of Lorraine, who made the acquaintance of the plant as guest of Nicot at Lisbon and cultivated it in his garden at home in 1560; he delighted in taking snuff to the extent of three ounces daily, and as Liebaut states, propagated it in France more than any one else because of the great reverence he entertained for the divine effects of the herb.

The first French pamphlet on tobacco is entitled "Instruction sur l'herbe petun ditte en France l'herbe de la Royne ou Médicée: et sur la racine Mechiocan. Par I. G. P. Envie, d'envie, en vie. Paris, par Galiot du Pré Libraire iuré: rue S. Iaques à l'enseigne de la Galere d'or, 1572." The author's name is J. Gohorry, and his booklet of 32 pages is entirely copied from Monardes.

Molière, in his comedy *Don Juan, ou Le Festin de Pierre*, written in 1665, places the following eulogy of tobacco in the mouth of Sganarelle (Act I, Scene 1): "Whatever Aristotle and the whole philosophy may say, there is nothing equal to tobacco; it is the passion of the gentlemen, and he who lives without tobacco is

not worthy of living. Not only does it exhilarate and purify the human brain, but also it instructs the soul in virtue, and with it one learns to become a gentleman. Don't you know, as soon as one partakes of it, in what obliging manner one uses it with everybody and how delighted one is to give it away right and left wherever one may be? One does not even wait till it is requested, but one hastens to anticipate the wish of people, which shows how true it is that tobacco inspires sentiments of honor and virtue in all those who take it." The thought is similar to that expressed by Bulwer Lytton (*Night and Morning*, 1841), who says with reference to the pipe, "It ripens the brain, it opens the heart; and the man who smokes thinks like a sage and acts like a Samaritan."

In France tobacco first assumed the form of snuff. The king, François II, was treated with snuff against severe headaches by the queen-mother, and the courtiers hastened to imitate the practice. Snuff remained the only mode of taking tobacco on the part of gentlemen until the nineteenth century. In 1635, the free sale of tobacco was interdicted by Louis XIII. Only pharmacists were permitted to sell it for medical purposes on the prescription of a physician. In 1674 the cultivation, preparation, and sale of tobacco became a state monopoly.

The cultivation is now authorized in twenty-five Départements, but the cultivators are obliged either to sell their crops to the State or to export them. Whoever desires to cultivate tobacco must file an application to the Administration of Indirect Taxes, which furnishes the seeds and supervises the whole business. No one has the right to grow it without authorization; the prohibition is absolute, and even extends to flower-pots. The annual production amounts to 25 millions of kilograms. The preparation and manufacture are superintended by the General Direction of the Manu-

factures of the State (under the Ministry of Finance). The sale is directed by the Administration of the Indirect Taxes.

In Portugal, as stated (p. 49), tobacco was grown in 1558. Clusius travelled in Spain and Portugal for floristic investigations during 1560 and 1564-65, and reports (*Exotica*, 1601, p. 310) that he saw in Portugal the plant in blossom throughout the winter.

Nicotiana was first introduced into Spain as an ornamental garden-plant owing to its beauty, subsequently as a medicinal plant on account of its real or alleged virtues. This is clearly expressed by Doctor Monardes of Sevilla (1571) in the introduction to his brief treatise on tobacco, which has served as a model to many contemporaneous and later writers in all countries of Europe. "This herb commonly called Tabaco is a very ancient herb known among the Indians, chiefly those of New Spain. After taking possession of these countries, our Spaniards, being instructed by the Indians, availed themselves of this herb in the wounds which they received in war, healing themselves with it to the great benefit of all. A few years ago it was brought over to Spain, to adorn gardens so that with its beauty it would afford a pleasing sight, rather than that its marvelous medicinal virtues were taken into consideration. Now we use it to a greater extent for the sake of its virtues than for its beauty; and those certainly are such to evoke admiration."

The species described by Monardes is *Nicotiana tabacum*. The date of its first introduction into Spain is not exactly ascertained, various names and dates are suggested, but these accounts are not well authenticated; the exact date, moreover, is of no consequence, as Spain contributed nothing to the diffusion of the plant over Europe. Spain gave Europe only two things—the tobacco gospel of Monardes and the cigar. Monardes, it should be remembered, never was in

America, but gathered his information from the lips of voyagers and adventurers, who returned from the newly discovered land to Sevilla. The Spaniards never took to the pipe, but in accordance with the practice of the aborigines of the Antilles and Mexico adopted the cigar and cigarette. Monardes also describes the tubular pipes of Mexico, but these were used in the Spain of his time only for the purpose of obtaining relief from asthma.

Tobacco made its début in Italy under the sponsorship of two churchmen. It was first introduced into Italy in 1561 by Prospero Santa Croce from Lisbon in Portugal, where he was engaged on a diplomatic mission as nuncio of the Pope. He was made cardinal by Pius IV and died in Rome in 1589, at the age of seventy-six years. It is due to this early introduction that Mattioli in 1565 was able to describe the plant, which is *Nicotiana rustica* (above, p. 8). It then became known in Italy under the name *herba Santa Croce*. Castore Durante (Herbario novo, Rome, 1585, p. 227) writes, "At present it is found here in Rome in abundant quantity thanks to the illustrious and reverend Signor, the Cardinal Santa Croce, who brought it from Portugal to Italy." He devotes a lengthy notice to the virtues of the plant, but does not say that in his time the leaves were smoked in Italy.

Another introduction into Italy is due to Nicolò Tornabuoni, a great lover of plants. When he was papal nuncio and ambassador of Toscana at the court of France, he observed there the medicinal employment of tobacco and sent seeds to his uncle, the Bishop Alfonso Tornabuoni, at Florence. This was prior to 1574, as Cosimo I of Medici, who took a deep interest in the cultivation of the plant in Toscana, died in that year. In honor of its godfather, it was then christened *erba tornabuona*. This was *Nicotiana tabacum*. A dried specimen from this early period is preserved in

the Herbarium of Ferrara (1585-98), labeled *tabacho over Herba Regina* ("tobacco or herb of the queen").

While Italy thus received the plant from Portugal and France, it took an Englishman to teach Italians how to smoke. This distinction falls on the shoulders of the Cardinal Crescenzio, who about 1610 acquired the gentle art of smoking in England or, according to another version, from an Englishman, which practically amounts to the same. In accordance with this precedent smoking and snuffing were readily adopted by the clergy and laity as well. When complaints reached the holy see from Sevilla that both ecclesiastics and seculars smoked and snuffed in the churches during service, Urban VIII issued a bull excommunicating all who would take tobacco in any form in the porches or interior of the churches. The Catholic Church, however, has always been wisely tolerant toward the use of tobacco. An Italian proverb says: *Bacco, tobacco e Venere riducon l'uomo in cenere* ("Bacchus, tobacco, and Venus reduce man to ashes"). As in France and Spain, the manufacture and sale of tobacco are a government monopoly in Italy. Cigars are served in the Italian army as part of the daily rations. According to Penn, Italian cigars are "incredibly vile," and bad as are the cigars sold to the public by the Régie, the military ones are worse.

TOBACCO IN CENTRAL AND NORTHERN EUROPE

The English were the most active propagators of tobacco-smoking over many parts of Europe. We noticed their influence in Italy, but it was much stronger in Scandinavia, Holland, Germany, and Russia. English sailors and soldiers, students and merchants carried the pipe victoriously wherever they went. English students at the University of Leiden appear to have been responsible for the initiation of

smoking in Holland. William van der Meer, physician at Delft, who cultivated three species of *Nicotiana* in his garden, wrote in 1621 to Dr. J. Neander at Bremen that he did not become acquainted with pipe-smoking until the year 1590 when he studied medicine at Leiden and noticed the practice among English and French students; he tried to imitate them, but the experiment did not agree with him. At Hamburg which had commercial relations with England and Holland smoking was known at the end of the sixteenth century, and about 1650 the peasants smoked all over Germany. During the Thirty Years' War English soldiers propagated the habit as far as into Bohemia, whence it spread to Austria and Hungary. The older German form *toback* (in dialects still *tuback*) and Low German *smoken* (slang *schmockstock*, "smoking-stick," for a cigar) are witnesses of this early English influence. The plant itself was known at a much earlier date, probably through Huguenots emigrating from France, and is referred to in the correspondence of Konrad Gesner of Zürich in 1565. During the sixteenth century tobacco was cultivated in many parts of Germany, chiefly around Nuremberg, in Saxonia, Thuringia, Hessen, the Palatinate, and Mecklenburg. Tobacco was first introduced into Norway in 1616 when the country was ruled by Denmark and treated as a province of this state. Christian IV of Denmark prohibited the importation of tobacco into Norway in 1632, as he had learned that its use would do great harm to the subjects of his kingdom Norway. In 1643 he rescinded this order and levied a duty on tobacco imports. During the war period 1807-14 attempts were made to grow tobacco in various districts of the country. At present a few farmers along the west coast cultivate tobacco. In Sweden it was first planted in 1724 by Jonas Alströmer; at present it is but cultivated to a small extent in the neighborhood of Stockholm.

TOBACCO IN RUSSIA AND TURKEY

The story of the early fate of tobacco in Russia is well told by J. Crull (*Ancient and Present State of Muscovy*, 1698, p. 145) :—

“Formerly tobacco was so extravagantly taken, as the *aqua vitae*, and was the occasion of frequent mischiefs; forasmuch as not only the poorer sort, would rather lay out their money upon tobacco than bread, but also, when drunk, did set their houses on fire through their negligence. Besides (which made the Patriarch take a particular disgust at it) they used to appear before their images with their stinking and infectious breath; all which obliged the Great Duke, absolutely to forbid both the use and sale of tobacco, in the year 1634, under very rigorous punishments; to wit: For the transgressors to have their nostrils slit, or else to be severely whipt. Nevertheless, it is of late years more frequently used, than ever it was before since the time of the edict, the search being not now so strict against the takers, nor the punishment so rigorously executed. Foreigners having the liberty to use it, makes the Muscovites often venture upon it in their Company; they being so eager of tobacco, that the most ordinary sort, which formerly cost not above 9 or 10 pence per pound in England, they will buy at the rate of 14 and 15 shillings; and if they want money, they will struck their cloaths for it, to the very shirt. They take it after a most beastly manner, instead of pipes, they have an engine made of a cows-horn, in the middle of which, there is a hole, where they place the vessel that holds the tobacco. The vessel is commonly made of wood, pretty wide, and indifferently deep; which, when they have filled with tobacco, they put water into the horn to temper the smoak. They commonly light their pipe with a firebrand, sucking the smoak through the horn with so much greediness, that they empty the pipe at two or three sucks; when

they whiff it out of the mouth, there rises such a cloud, that it hides both their faces and the standers by. Being debarr'd from the constant use of it, they fall down drunk, and insensible immediately after, for half a quarter of an hour, when the tobacco having had its operation, they lep up in an instant, more brisk and lively than before, when their first discourse commonly tends to the praise of tobacco, and especially of its noble quality in purging the head."

It is curious to note in this account that the Russians of the seventeenth century availed themselves of the water-pipe the history of which is given in Leaflet 18. Presumably they derived it from Turkey. The Turkish word for tobacco, *tutun* ("smoke"), is encountered in all Slavic languages, as well as in Rumanian and Neo-Greek. It seems that at the same time the water-pipe was also fashionable in Germany. At least Georg Meister (*Der orientalische Kunstgärtner*, Dresden, 1692, p. 59), when he observed on his travels the hooka along the Arabian coast, remarks, "As is also done in our German lands by some tobacco-fellows à la mode."

Better days came for Russian smokers under Peter the Great (1689-1725), who during his sojourn in England and on the continent became an adept of smoking. He determined to introduce tobacco into his country for the sake of the revenue it would yield. The Marquis of Carmarthen on behalf of an English company offered £28,000 for the monopoly of the sale of tobacco in Russia. For this sum the syndicate was allowed to import one million and a half pounds of tobacco a year, and the czar agreed to permit its free use among his subjects, revoking all previous edicts and laws.

In 1698 Lefort and Golovin signed in London with Sir Thomas Osborne (1631-1712) a commercial treaty by virtue of which the latter was to receive the exclusive right to import tobacco into Siberia: up to 1699

he was to import three thousand tons, the following year five thousand, and from the third year onward six thousand and more, with the obligations to pay £12,000 on the first importation and to supply the court with a thousand pounds of tobacco of first quality annually. The English Consul, Charles Goodfellow, in Moscow was Osborne's agent. In 1705 this privilege was abrogated (cf. Leaflet 18, pp. 16-17). English tobacco was then prohibited in Russia, not, however, Turkish or Russian tobacco.

It is generally asserted that tobacco was introduced into Turkey in 1605 under the reign of Sultan Akhmed I (1603-17); but I have found a reference in J. T. Bent's "Early Voyages in the Levant" (p. 49) from which it follows that tobacco and smoking, at least from hearsay, must have been known to the Osmans several years before that time, at the end of the sixteenth century. John Dallam, the organ-builder, when he travelled to Constantinople in 1599, tells a curious incident which happened at the time his ship met the Turkish navy not far from the Dardanelles. The Turkish captain of a galley boarded his ship and desired to receive as a present some tobacco and tobacco-pipes which were promptly granted to him. The Turk accordingly anticipated to find tobacco on an English vessel, and must have had some previous experience with the weed, which in all probability had reached Constantinople through the trade of the Levant Company of London. Indeed it was from England that tobacco was first introduced into Turkey, as we learn from George Sandys (*Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610. Foure Bookes containing a Description of the Turkish Empire*, 1615, p. 66). Sandys visited Constantinople in 1610 and writes thus: "The Turkes are also incredible takers of Opium, whereof the lesser Asia affordeth them plenty: carrying it about them

both in peace and in warre; which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them couragious: but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers; by them, as should seeme by what hath bene said, religiously affected. And perhaps for the selfe same cause they also delight in Tobacco; they take it through reeds that have ioyned unto them great heads of wood to containe it: I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English: and were it not sometimes lookt into (for Morat Bassa not long since commanded a pipe to be thrust through the nose of a Turke, and so to be led in derision through the Citie,) no question but it would prove a principall commodity. Nevertheless they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in England is not saleable, doth pass here amongst them for most excellent." The English, accordingly, besides introducing tobacco, taught the Turks also how to smoke it from pipes. In 1615 Pietro della Valle observed the use of tobacco at Constantinople. At first it met with violent opposition on the part of the Sultans, and the most cruel punishments were meted out to smokers.

De Thevenot (*Travels into the Levant*, pt. 1, 1687, p. 60) tells how at the time of his sojourn in Constantinople the Sultan used to walk through the city in disguise to see if his orders be punctually observed. "It was chiefly for tobacco that he made many heads fly. He caused two men in one day to be beheaded in the streets of Constantinople, because they were smoking tobacco. He had prohibited it some days before, because, as it was said, when he was passing along the street where Turks were smoking tobacco, the smoke had got up into his nose. But I rather think that it was in imitation of his uncle Sultan Amurat [Murad IV, 1623-40], who did all he could to hinder it so long as he lived. He caused some to be hanged with a pipe through their nose, others with tobacco hanging about

their neck, and never pardoned any for that. I believe that the chief reason why Sultan Amurath prohibited tobacco, was because of the fires, that do so much mischief in Constantinople when they happen, which most commonly are occasioned by people that fall asleep with a pipe in their mouth, that sets fire to the bed, or any combustible matter, as I said before. He used all the arts he could to discover those who sold tobacco, and went to those places where he was informed they did, where having offered several *chequins* for a pound of tobacco, made great entreaty, and promised secrecy, if they let him have it; he drew out a cimeter under his vest, and cut off the shopkeeper's head." From about 1655 the prohibition was relaxed, and smoking both from the dry pipe and water-pipe became a general custom. In 1883 a government tobacco monopoly was introduced: the cultivation is free, but the crops must be sold to the government, which conducts the sale.

Dr. Covell, while on a journey to Adrianople, writes in his Diary under May 2d, 1675, "Here in summer many come to take their *spasso* and recreation in the shade, sitting upon carpet with tobacco, coffee, and pure water," etc. In Bourgas (modern Lule-Bourgas) he mentions shopkeepers selling the finest tobacco-pipe heads that are to be found in Turkey (Bent, Early Voyages in the Levant, p. 173).

The following interesting account is taken from H. Phillips (History of Cultivated Vegetables, 1822, an undeservedly forgotten book) :—

"The smoking of tobacco is carried to such an excess by the Turks, that they are rarely to be seen without a pipe, and never enter into business without smoking, which often gives them an advantage over the Christians with whom they have either commercial or political transactions, as they smoke a considerable time and reflect before giving a reply to any question.

To visit them on business previously to their morning pipe, would only subject the intruder to their caprice and ill-humor. An ingenious friend, who has resided several years in Constantinople, and had opportunities of associating with the higher classes of that city, assures us that two thousand pounds is no uncommon price for a Turk to give for the amber mouth-piece of a tobacco-pipe, exclusive of the bowl or the pipe, the latter of which is made of a branch of the jasmine tree, for the summer use, while those for winter smoking are uniformly made of the branches of the cherry tree. In order to obtain them of a regular size without being tapering, the young shoots of these trees have a weight affixed at their extremities to bend them downwards, which prevents the sap from returning to the body of the tree, and causes them to swell equally in all parts. The rind or bark is carefully preserved to prevent the escape of the fumes through the pores of the wood. The wealthy Turks pride themselves on the beauty and number of their pipes; and the principal servant in their establishment has no other charge than that of attending to the pipes and tobacco, which are presented to the master or his guests by a servant of an inferior rank. These pipes are so regularly and effectually cleaned, as always to have the delicacy of a new tube, while the German pipe, on the contrary, is enhanced in value by the length of time it has been in use. We are told by the same friend that he has seen among the lower class of Armenians and Jews in Turkey, some smokers who could consume the whole tobacco of a bowl twice the size of those used in England, and draw the entire fumes into their bodies at one breath, which they discharge from their ears as well as the mouth and nostrils."

The world-wide diffusion of tobacco is one of the most interesting phenomena in the recent history of mankind and one that furnishes food for many reflections. Within the short span of three centuries tobacco has firmly established itself as a universal necessity without which mankind is unwilling to live. It has developed into one of the greatest industries of modern times, resulting in statistical figures which almost stagger imagination. Let us consider also that during the same brief period coffee, tea, and chocolate obtained a strong footing in European and American society, and likewise are now articles of international industry and commerce. None of these stimulants was known to our ancestors of three centuries ago, and now they form an integral part of world economy. The association of coffee with tobacco is very close, and their alliance has stimulated and promoted thought, scholarship, literature and art; it profoundly affected social customs, intensified sociability, and paved the way to the era of humanism.

Of all the gifts of nature, tobacco has been the most potent social factor, the most efficient peacemaker, and a great benefactor of mankind. It has made the whole world akin and united it into a common bond. Of all luxuries it is the most democratic and the most universal; it has contributed a large share toward democratizing the world. The very word has penetrated into all languages of the globe, and is understood everywhere.

B. LAUFER.

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